

State Policy Innovativeness Revisited¹

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Abstract

How do the American states vary in their propensity for innovativeness, or their willingness to adopt new policies sooner or later relative to other states? Most studies today use event history analysis to focus almost exclusively on one policy area at a time at the expense of a broader understanding of innovativeness as a characteristic of states. To return to the concept of innovativeness more broadly, our study revisits and updates the original approach taken by Walker (1969) by updating his average innovation scores with new data covering over 180 different policies. We use these data to construct a new, dynamic measure of innovativeness that addresses biases and shortcomings in the original measure, as well as providing associated measures of uncertainty. These new scores build on the logic of event history analysis to address issues such as right-censoring and to facilitate measuring changes in innovativeness over time. We then compare the two measures of innovativeness and evaluate differences across states, spatial patterns, and changes in innovativeness over time.

many policies as possible and to compare innovativeness over long periods of time, we therefore construct one score that uses policies that begin diffusing in 1912, which is the year that the last of the contiguous states (Arizona) achieved statehood, and exclude Alaska and Hawaii from these calculations.¹² We then include them in a second set of scores using policies that begin diffusing in 1959 or later. Second, we use the first observed year of adoption as the starting date, either to determine Y_k^{MIN} for Walker’s scores or to set the first year of the risk set for our rate measure. Third, to determine the last year of adoption we use the year of the forty-eighth adoption for policies that begin diffusing between 1912 and 1959 and the fiftieth adoption for those starting in 1959 or later. For policies not adopted by all 48 (50) states, we account for right censoring in the Walker score by using the year after the last adoption as the value of Y_k^{MAX} and assigning nonadopters a score of zero, as has become common in the literature. The rate measure accounts for right-censoring explicitly through the risk set. Finally, we exclude two policies with fewer than ten total adoptions. This is a slightly less rigorous rule than the twenty adoptions usually used in the literature (e.g., Walker 1969), but our rate score makes the associated right-censoring problems less of an issue. These decisions leave us with a total of 137 policies, 41 of which originate from Walker’s database.

With these preliminaries in hand, we now turn to the evaluation of the resulting scores. In order to facilitate comparison, we initially calculate the rate score over the same time period as the Walker score and turn to our dynamic measure afterwards. Table 1 reports our estimated scores and their standard errors, while Figure 1 presents the results with confidence intervals and each score ordered according to state innovativeness. In addition to presenting the innovativeness measure itself, we also construct associated measures of uncertainty, something rarely done in the literature. Accounting for uncertainty in these estimates is critical for answering even the fundamental question of whether states vary in their level of innovativeness. In order to accomplish this, we used a bootstrap procedure in which we repeatedly drew samples of size 137 (with replacement) from

¹²Previous studies have either excluded scores for states on policies that began diffusing before statehood (Walker 1969) or before they achieved territorial status (Savage 1978). Given the longer period of time we have we believe it makes sense to almost completely avoid this issue and enhance comparability by starting in 1912.

states as we do is less than one in 2500 for both scores.

6 Innovativeness Over Time

Having established some confidence that these two scores offer a meaningful measure of state innovativeness and that the states do differ systematically, we now move to studying what these measures tell us about changes in innovativeness over time. We start by comparing scores from the first half of the twentieth century to those from the second half, along the lines of Walker's temporal calculations. This highlights one of the strengths of our rate measure — the ability to easily and more meaningfully calculate innovativeness scores for specific periods of time. We then leverage this strength to conduct a more finely tuned analysis of trends in innovativeness over time, both at the state and national level.

6.1 Comparisons of Innovativeness Before and After 1959

We start by comparing innovativeness in the first half of the period studied, 1912-1958, to the second half, 1959-2009. This follows the approach of previous studies by comparing innovativeness over long eras. Doing so allows us to determine whether overall innovativeness has increased as well as whether individual states have become more innovative over time. We pick 1959 as the beginning of the second era since that allows us to include both Alaska and Hawaii in our calculations for that era.

As noted earlier, Walker's scores have at least two features that make them less suitable for making comparisons over time. First, the normalization process makes it harder to pick up changes in overall innovativeness: if all states adopt a policy twice as fast, the resulting scores would remain the same. This is not true for the rate score. Second, policies do not always diffuse across all 48 or 50 states within a given period of time. Calculating Walker's scores for different time periods therefore requires a decision about how to allocate innovation scores for these policies to one of the two time periods. Our approach follows previous studies by assigning scores to the period in

number of new policies increases from fifteen in the 1980s to thirty-nine in the 1990s. Thus the 1930s and 1990s appear to be periods of increased activity on both dimensions. Still, the number of new policies per year remains relatively low, with about 1.4 new policies appearing per year and fewer than 14% of years witnessing more than 3 new policies.

6.2.2 The Dynamics of State-Level Innovativeness

We now turn to a state level analysis of the dynamic of innovativeness. To do so we follow the same procedure employed above, but consider each state separately. In order to enhance comparability we again restrict our set of policies to those that started diffusing in 1912 or after. Our biennial measure of innovativeness therefore starts in 1913-1914 and runs through 2007-2008. While we have fewer potential innovations each year at the state level, the average number stays between thirty and seventy after the 1920s, with an overall average of thirty-six. The average adoption rate is just below 5%.

Given the vast amount of data that these calculations generate, we do not report them all in detail here (interested scholars can download them from our website). Rather we discuss some interesting features of these dynamic, state-level scores and provide some examples. In particular, we compare the dynamics of innovativeness across states and then assess how well they comport with the trends revealed at the aggregate level. Our data indicate a great deal of heterogeneity in innovativeness over time across states, with an average of only 0.26. Of course, one should remember that these are annual correlations and do not necessarily indicate that these states are adopting the same policies, just that they are adopting policies at similar rates over time.

[Insert Figure 4 here.]

Comparing the dynamics of innovativeness over time reveals a few interesting patterns that we highlight here. In particular, four defining periods emerge, with states categorized by which pattern they follow during those periods. Figure 4 presents exemplars of these patterns along with the overall national trend for the same time period.²¹ In common with the national trend, virtually

²¹Plots for all 50 states are included in our online appendix.

sion forces occur on policies that involve competition between states over residents, payments, or revenues. Such competition is usually most acute between states with common borders since this facilitates less costly movement by individuals or capital across borders.

Traditionally, researchers consider such forces simultaneously and focus on diffusion between contiguous states (see Mooney (2001) for a review), though some studies attempt to distinguish or isolate the two forces (Boehmke and Witmer 2004; Berry and Baybeck 2005; Mintrom and Vergari 1998; Grossback, Nicholson-Crotty and Peterson 2004; Volden 2006). Here, we move away from the explicit role of diffusion in a single policy area to study the overall geographic pattern of innovativeness. Do innovative states cluster into regions of innovation? Do we observe policy leaders surrounded by laggards who slowly follow along?

We can take a first cut at this question through visual inspection of the geography of innovation through Figure 5, which displays our adoption rate scores from 1912-2008. We shade states in clusters of eight, moving from light gray for less innovative states to darker shades for more innovative states. Overall, these results suggest that reality lies somewhere between the two extremes. We see extensive mixing of more innovative and less innovative states across the country. Still, some regional patterns emerge, with a cluster of innovative states on the west coast and around the great lakes and a cluster of less innovative states in the upper mountain west and also in the southeast, in particular in the heart of the Deep South. Despite these detectable regional patterns, the overall impression appears to be consistent with Walker (1969) and Lutz's (1987) notion of regional leaders surrounded by followers.

[Insert Figure 5 here.]

A more precise measure of geographic patterns can be obtained through measures of spatial autocorrelation. Similar to temporal autocorrelation, these measures tell us whether observations that are nearer to each other tend to have more similar values of our innovativeness measures. Here we calculate Moran's I (Moran 1950) using geographic contiguity as our measure of spatial proximity (see Mooney (2001) or Karch (2007b) for more on the literature's use of contiguity as

years' worth of data, the overall contiguity matrix repeats the fifty by fifty contiguity matrix in a block diagonal fashion — once for each year's worth of data in the analysis. While rarely applied in the single policy EHA framework (though see Rincke (2007)), SAR offers researchers a natural way to account for the interdependence of states' policy adoption decisions; our continuous dependent variable is particularly well suited to such an analysis.

To measure internal determinants of innovativeness, we rely on variables commonly used in the literature, such as a state's population, wealth, urbanization, legislative capacity, institutional features such as direct legislation, and ideology. Many of these variables correspond to the presence of "slack" resources, such that the presence of greater population, wealth, urbanization, or skilled legislative staff makes it more likely that a state will experiment with a new policy due to its ability to invest resources in research or to overcome the associated possible risks if it fails (Walker 1969). In their review of the policy innovation literature, Berry and Berry (2007) describe such variables as allowing states to overcome the obstacle to innovation. They also refer to political factors that influence the motivation to innovate, such as electoral competition and elite ideology. Finally, we also measure institutional incentives for policy innovation by accounting for the twenty-four states that permit direct initiatives — this mechanism has been shown to increase the chance of innovation for specific policies either through its direct use or through the additional pressure to act it puts on the legislature (Gerber 1996; Boehmke 2005*a*).

To estimate the effects of these variables on innovativeness, we gathered data on each variable for as many years as possible.²³ Since many of our variables go back only to the 1960s, our final data set includes biennial data for the 1960s through the 1990s, producing 960 observations. We match the values of each variable in even numbered years to the associated biennial adoption rate score.

[Insert Table 2 here.]

²³Population (measured in millions) and real per capita income (measured in \$10,000s) are available from the Statistical Abstract of the States; Urban Population (proportion between zero to one) from the decennial Census; Legislative professionalism (zero to one) decennially since the 1960s from King (2000); government ideology (zero to one) since 1960 from Berry et al. (1998); and the presence of the initiative process from Boehmke (2005*b*).

a state more innovative. This effect persists, though a bit smaller, when we include a cubic polynomial of time. In contrast, though, the spatial lag effect disappears when we include biennium fixed effects. As (Franzese and Hays 2007) note, one of the causes of spatial autocorrelation is common exposure. Thus our spatial lag may shrink when we include fixed effects for time since the latter will capture any common occurrences unique to each time period. These could be national economic conditions, major domestic or international events, or even Federal incentives for innovativeness. Overall, then, these results suggest that the spatial patterns in innovativeness uncovered by Moran's I and the previous SAR models may depend more on common exposure than on diffusion between states. This does not mean that interstate diffusion does not occur, since our models do not measure whether states are innovative on the same policies, just whether they tend to be innovative in the same years for reasons above and beyond those measured by the included covariates.

8 Discussion and Conclusion

The rate of innovativeness score developed in this paper addresses a number of important concerns with Walker's original innovativeness scores and similar measures that largely led to the abandonment of the development of a general measure of state innovativeness. First and foremost our rate score easily addresses concerns about right censoring, which appears not to have been a serious problem with Walker's original scores. Second, by creating measures of uncertainty we are able to statistically evaluate the original motivating question of whether states vary in their proclivity to innovate. Our analysis responds resoundingly in the affirmative. Third, our rate measure also greatly simplifies the creation of a dynamic measure of state innovativeness. This facilitates comparisons of state innovativeness over time — an enterprise that was at best awkward with previous innovation scores — thereby allowing us to address one of the initial criticisms of Walker's time-invariant scores (Gray 1973*a*; Eyestone 1977).

Overall, then, these results suggest that it will be worthwhile to renew the study of state innovativeness as a general concept. Our various analyses have attempted to highlight some of the

demographic characteristics, are staples of the EHA framework that tend to remain fairly constant for a state over a fairly long period of time. By studying innovativeness across a broad swath of policies, our approach creates the opportunity to complement single policy EHA studies by determining the common factors that lead states to be more innovative. Additional data collection would allow for a comparison of the role of these common forces across policy areas.

Finally, our rate scores may also be useful as one factor explaining other state-level phenomena. For example, Berry and Berry (2007, p. 233) note that what they term generic innovativeness might be seen as just one factor that helps explain states' adoptions of a specific policy. If innovativeness captures some feature of state politics in a given time and place above and beyond those captured by other observed variables, then more innovative states should have a greater proclivity for adopting specific policies, at least on average. While previous studies have attempted this (e.g., Mooney and Lee 1995), they relied on time invariant scores that do not properly capture innovativeness contemporaneously with possible adoption of a single policy.

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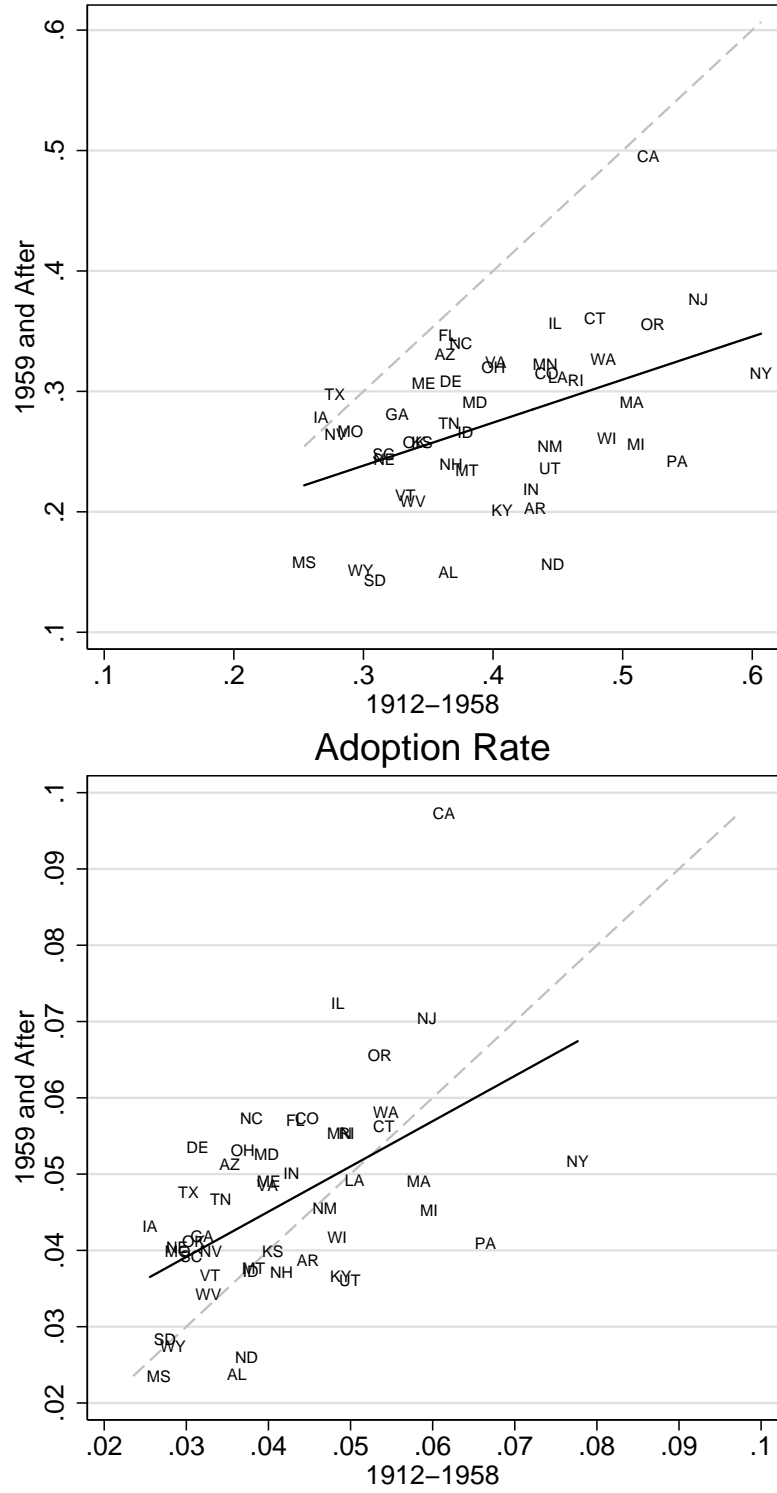
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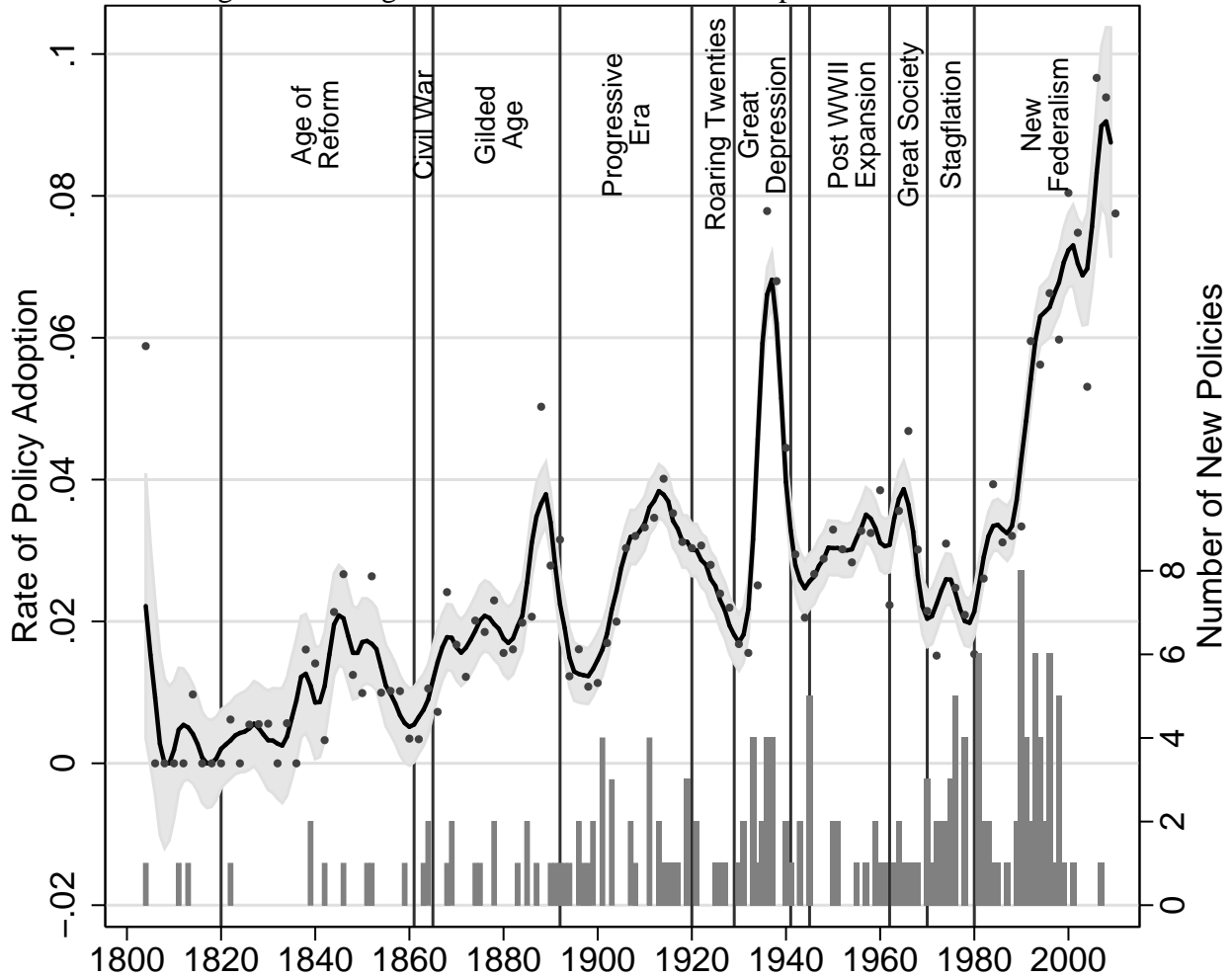
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Figure 2: Changes in Innovativeness Over Time, by Measure
Walker



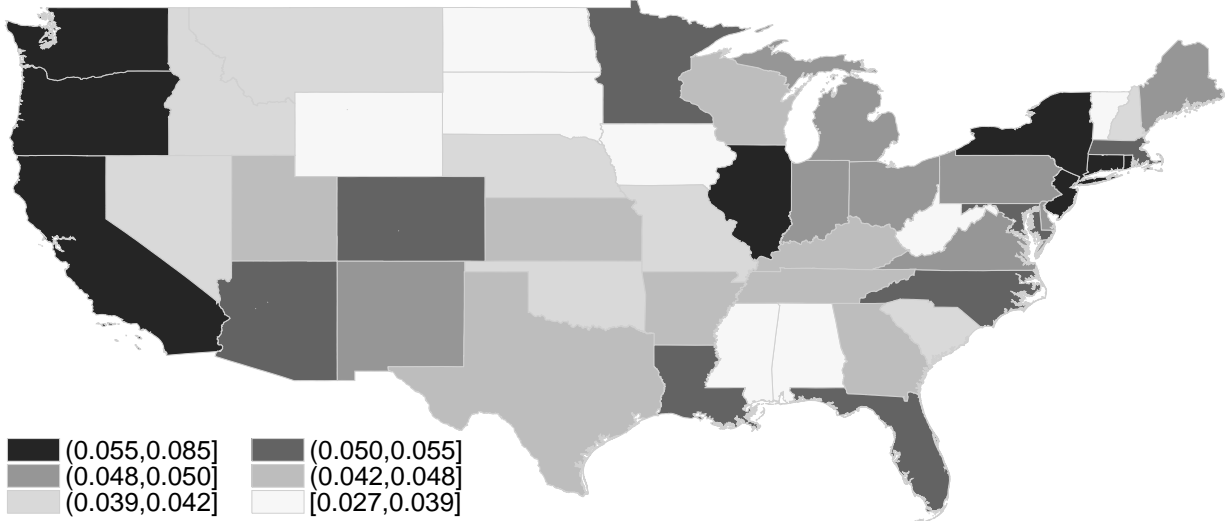
Notes: Dashed lines indicate equal innovativeness between the two time period. Solid lines represent the best linear fit between the two sets of scores.

Figure 3: Emergence of New Policies and Adoption Rate Over Time



Notes: The plot reports a local linear regression curve of policy adoptions across all states over time with bandwidth set to 1.5 (using Stata’s `lppoly` command). The shaded area indicates a 95% confidence interval. The bars represent the number of policies that began diffusing each year. Only policies that started diffusing in 1800 or later are included.

Figure 5: Choropleth Map of State Innovativeness, 1912-2009, Using Adoption Rate Measure



Notes: States are partitioned into six groups of eight states.

**Authors' Appendix for:
"State Policy Innovativeness Revisited"**

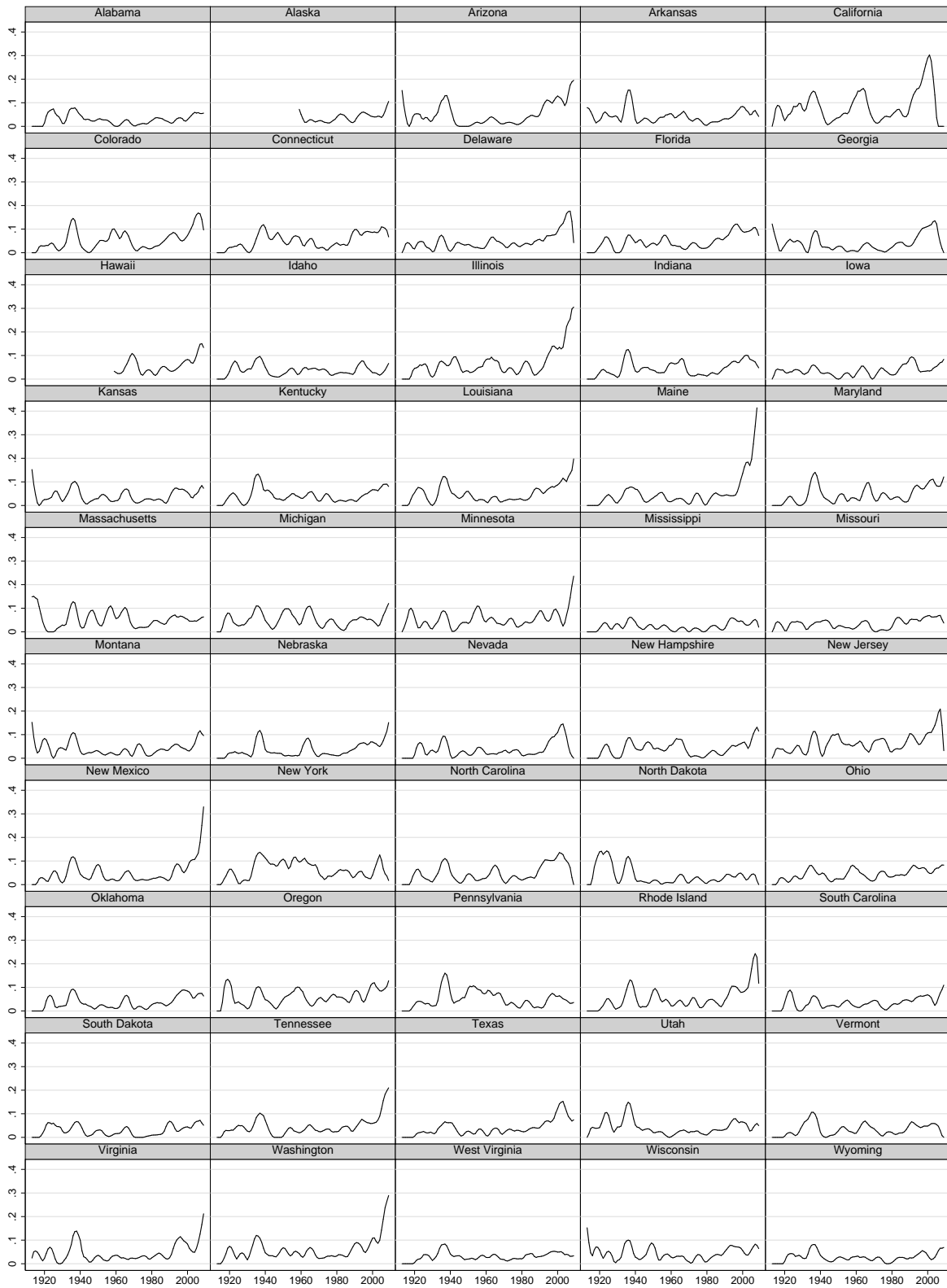
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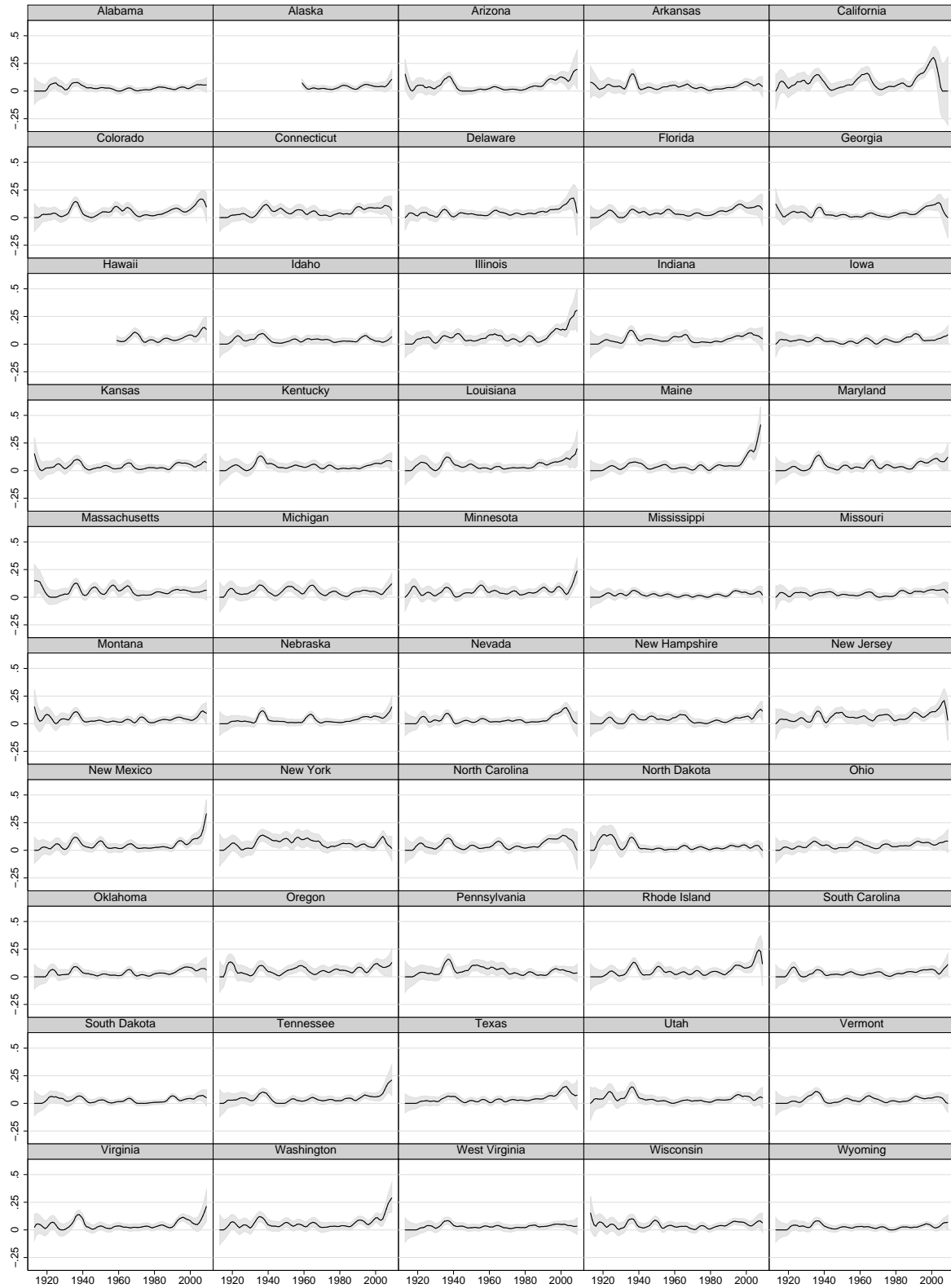
March 2, 2012

Figure 1: Smoothed Innovation Rates Over Time



Notes: The plot reports a local linear regression curve over time with bandwidth set to 1.5 (using Stata's `lpolys` command).

Figure 2: Smoothed Innovation Rates Over Time, with Confidence Intervals



Notes: The plot reports a local linear regression curve over time with bandwidth set to 1.5 (using Stata's `lpoly` command). The shaded area indicates a 95% confidence interval.